1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

233 also in that of the Tungus. I remember one Yakut herd not far from
171 Bulun, on the lower course of the Lena River, which surprised me by the great size of the reindeer. The Yakut have achieved this, first of all, by careful selection. The Yakut reindeer-herd undergoes constant change in its make-up. A wealthy Yakut reindeer-breeder is continually trading or selling his poor or stunted breeders, and buys, wherever he can, large, strong bucks and does, being ready to pay good prices, and thus all the time improving the race. Besides, the Yakut reindeer-breeders make a specialty of selling their trained reindeer for post-stations. The marks of the owners of the reindeer, in the shapes of initials, are branded by the Yakut with red-hot iron seals on the hind-quarters of the reindeer. Quite frequently Yakut reindeer are found marked with several brands, which shows that they have passed through several hands.

233 A Koryak herd undergoes but little change in its make-up, except what
422 is occasioned by natural increase by birth, or by decrease from disease and from slaughter for food. The herd is closely connected with the family cult. The reindeer is the bearer of luck, and the protector of the family. Although the head of the family has control of the herd, it is still considered as the common property of the whole family.[1]

Moreover, each individual member of the family has under his or her own mark a certain number of reindeer which are considered as his or her personal property. Every new-born member of the family, independent of sex, receives, as a gift from the first fawns born after his or her birth, one or more female fawns. In time, under favorable circumstances, these become an entire herd, which are branded with a special mark, distinguishing them from other groups of reindeer in the herd. The Koryak mark of ownership is made on the ear of the reindeer. The operation is performed on the new-born fawn by biting off, or cutting off with a knife, a piece of the ear. The marks of ownership do not differ much. They are in the shape of a straight or curved line, an acute angle, or of two or three incisions in zigzag form. The Koryak readily distinguish their marks, even though they strongly resemble one another.

432 Although of late years wealthy Koryak herd-owners, for the sake of the
233 improvement of their herd, are buying trained reindeer or good breeders
777 from the Tungus, nevertheless they consider it a sin to sell any live reindeer. Reindeer that are sold carry with them the luck of the herd: therefore, when selling their reindeer for slaughter, the Koryak do not part with them alive, but kill them themselves. Under such circumstances, the slaughter of a reindeer that is sold is considered as a sacrifice to the Supreme Deity, and can bring no bad consequences.

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[1] See Chap. XII.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak R44

501 The Koryak have a rectangular sail made of dressed reindeer-skins sewed
281 together. Instead of a mast, they employ a more primitive contrivance. Three long poles are tied together at one end with a thong which passes through drill-holes, and are set up in the manner of a tripod. On one side the whole length of the sail is sewed to a yard the middle of which is slung from the top of the tripod by means of a stout thong. The tripod is set up in the middle of the boat by tying both ends of two of the poles to the ribs on one side of the boat, while the third pole is fastened on the other side of the boat. The sail can revolve around the top of the tripod, and is set in the direction required by the wind by means of braces and sheets made of thong, which are fastened to the rails (Fig. 80, *f*).

The care of the skin boats is the same everywhere. On returning to shore from a trip, the boat is pulled ashore and turned bottom up to let the skin dry. After a few days, when it is dry, it is oiled anew. About the middle of October, when the hunting-season is over, the boat is taken out of the water, the skin cover is taken off, and, when completely dry, is put away for the winter in a storehouse,[1] that the dogs may not get access to it. I have been told that the people of Karaga and Kičhin, on Bering Sea, do not remove the walrus-skin cover from the frame for the winter, but turn the boat keel upwards and hang it on posts, that the dogs may not get at it.

501 The Koryak skin boat can carry fairly heavy loads. In the autumn of
505 1900 we crossed in two boats from the settlement of Paren to Kuel. As the former place is about seven miles from the mouth of the Paren River, the boats entered the river at high tide, and with the ebb-tide we sailed out into the open sea. We carried about two thousand pounds of cargo, and our party consisted of twenty-five members, — myself with four companions, and ten Koryak to each boat. In each boat there were eight oarsmen, among whom were women and lads. In addition, each boat carried eight dogs in harness, which lay in the stern. Notwithstanding this heavy load, the boats were not more than half in the water. We went on fairly fast, and covered a distance of twenty miles in three hours and a half. When we had turned the islets and the rocky shore at the mouth of the river, and had reached a low strip of coast covered with sticky clay, which had run dry with the receding tide, the skin boats approached the shore. The dogs were taken ashore and harnessed to the sides of the boats. They were driven by two lads, who ran behind them on shore. The oars were laid along the sides of the boat inside. The steersmen alone directed the boats so as to keep them within from six to nine metres from shore. Whenever a stone or a drift-log would catch the traces, the drivers would clear them.

501 Not all families possess boats, as this involves a great outlay of seal-skins,
511 which are needed for clothing, barter, sale, and fur-tribute (yasa'k). Only
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[1] See Plate XXI, Fig. 1. The skin cover is hung up near the storehouse, to be put away when dry.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

good hunters, or families to which several hunters belong, can keep boats. Every year the cover of the skin boat requires mending, and must be replaced in parts. A large boat requires from fifteen to twenty seal-skins, each of which has a market-value of from five to six rubles. The ratio of the number of families possessing a skin boat to the number of those without one is not the same everywhere. For instance, on the Itkana, out of seventeen families, eight had no boats; while in Kamenskoye out of thirty, nine had none. The hunters of families without boats go hunting with the owners of boats, and then share the game with them.[1]

Kayaks. — Small skin boats for one man are made by the Koryak of Penshina Bay. They are of the kayak type, like those of the Aleuts and of the Eskimo from Greenland to Alaska. Mr. Bogoras says that kayaks are unknown among the Chukchee on the coast of the Pacific Ocean.[2] The Koryak kayak (mĭ'to) differs from that of the western Eskimo in some respects. It is shorter; the round manhole is not covered, and occupies the entire width; and prow and stern are of the same shape (Fig. 83). The skeleton of the

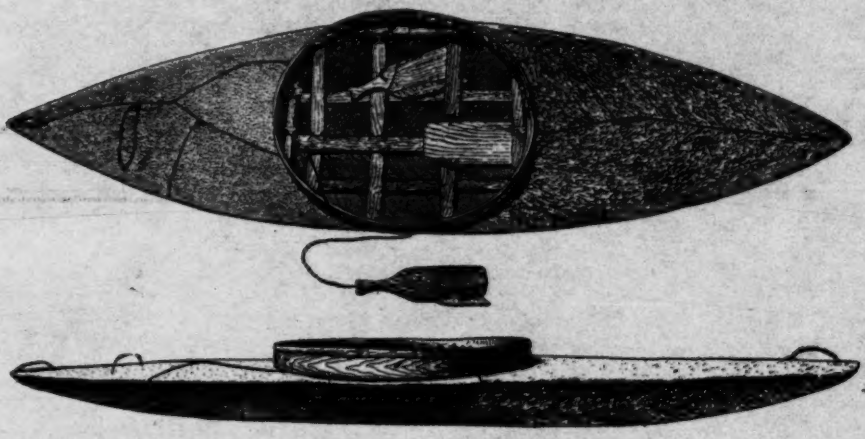

Fig. 83 ($\frac{1}{11}\frac{1}{12}$). Kayak, Top and Side View. Length, 269 cm.; width, 75 cm.; height, 28 cm.; weight, 32 lbs.

kayak is made as follows: A strip of wood curved upward somewhat both fore and aft serves as the "keel." To both ends of the keel the ends of curved poles, which serve as rails, are tied with thongs. As the keel is curved in a vertical plane, with its convex side downward, while both rails are in a horizontal plane, the rails lie on a level with the keel only at their points of junction, while at all other points the rails lie higher than the keel. For

[1] See Chapter XIII.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 126.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

593 member of the family, and although she becomes affiliated to the hearth and
562 joins her husband in the cult of his family ancestors, nevertheless she continues to dwell under the protection of her blood-relatives. It is told in one myth[1]
586 that Eme'mqut drives off with his sister, who is being tortured by her husband the Ringed-Seal, and his relatives; so, also nowadays, the young woman's relatives still have the right to take her away from her husband if he treats her cruelly. This proves that woman is not considered to be her husband's property. If a woman flees of her own accord to her relatives, they will not surrender her. Sometimes the husband comes to ask her to come back, promising better treatment. On the other hand, the husband may cast out his wife without any explanation, if he dislikes her for one reason or another; but by this act he forever breaks up the union which marriage had established between the two families. Henceforth he cannot court any relative of his disowned wife. No girl relative of the latter will be given to him in marriage.

A Koryak widower on the Taigonos Peninsula, soon after his marriage, sent his second wife back to her relatives. I asked him why he had turned her out. He replied that she had not attended him when he had been ill, and did not take care of his children by his first wife.

In this simple manner, Koryak divorce is performed. If there are children at the separation of the spouses, the girls remain with the mother, the boys with their father. Disputes concerning the children do occur, but they are settled without anybody's intervention.

421 Form of Property. — Despite the fact that the proprietary right to clothing, household effects, houses, and domestic animals, has already become strongly lodged in the tribal consciousness, we still meet remnants of communal ideas in this sphere. These chiefly concern articles of hunting and fishing. The principle of property in the produce of labor is not as yet completely applied to the food procured by the hunter and fisherman. People in need of food may lay claim, as we shall see in the next chapter, to the game obtained by the successful hunter or fisherman. The social union among separate families is based on this.

422 Among the Maritime Koryak, clothing and ornaments alone are considered
428 personal property. Wooden guardians and other amulets, household appurtenances, the house, nets, and skin boats, are family property. I have already said[2] that the boat, being a "guardian" of the family, cannot belong to two different families. All these things pass on by inheritance from father to son, and, in their absence, to brothers. Daughters or sisters who have not been married into other families remain with their brothers or uncles. If one of the brothers sets up a separate house, he receives a part of the movable property, dishes and implements, and may continue to share with his brothers

[1] See Part I, p. 133. [2] Ibid., p. 41.

1: Jochelson. E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

in the common use of the skin boat, if he remains in the same village. In case of the death of the father or of a childless brother, the brother who keeps house for himself receives a portion of the inheritance, even if his brother's widow passes on to another, younger brother. I have already said that girls, on marrying into other families, take with them nothing but their clothes. The reindeer which the bride takes along are often delivered by her kinsfolk to her father-in-law, not immediately after the wedding, but according to the most convenient moment, considering what season is most favorable for the welfare of the herd. 422 428 [585]

The reindeer are the property of all the members of the family, but the movements of the herd are directed by the father. According to custom, each newly born child, irrespective of sex, receives one reindeer-heifer or more with a special mark on the ear.[1] This gives each member of the family a share in the herd later on. Under favorable conditions, a whole herd may be formed by the yearly increase of the herd of these heifers, before the child is ready to marry. Of course, the original herd belongs to the father; but considering that each child has its own reindeer, and that the wife and daughters-in-law retain as their property the reindeer which they brought in marriage, the whole herd of a large family belongs to a group of interrelated proprietors, under the direction of the eldest male. This elder may be the eldest brother or paternal uncle. On the father's death, the original herd is divided up among the sons, and, in the absence of children, among the brothers of the deceased. At marriage, daughters usually receive a share of the original herd from their father, in addition to their own reindeer. Some Koryak divide their deer equally among their sons and daughters, and give a proportionate part to the daughter at the time of her marriage;[2] but then the daughter is no longer entitled to inherit part of the herd on her father's death. If an unmarried girl is at home when her father dies, her brothers give her the reindeer at the time of her marriage. If a wife leaves her husband or is cast out by him, her relatives take back her reindeer. I have already said that divorces are very rare. After the birth of children, who are heirs to both their mother's and father's reindeer, the husband manages his wife's reindeer more independently. In general, the eldest member of the family manages the common herd of the family entirely without control. He designates which reindeer are to be killed for meat, clothing, sacrifices, and sale. He oversees the pasture and herdsman, and picks out the reindeer to be trained for harness. Of course, he often consults his wife or eldest son. 422 592 428 585 [586] 592 233

The parting of brothers, or the separation of a married son from the 600

[1] See p. 492.

[2] In Tale 86 Vilkes-kent marries Magpie-Man. They eat up all the reindeer which Big-Raven had given them. Vilkes-kent comes to her father to ask for food; and Big-Raven says, "You ate your share of reindeer, I have nothing else to give you" (Part I, p. 259).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

591 The parting of brothers, or the separation of a married son from the
422 paternal family, rarely occurs. This happens, in the first place, among people very rich in reindeer. The division of too large a herd may become a necessity for the care of the reindeer. The widow's reindeer pass over to her brother-in-law with whom she lives; but if she has children, her brother-in-law [589] manages the reindeer only temporarily. A widow who does not re-marry remains with her sons, together with her reindeer; but if she has no sons, she joins her brothers, or manages the herd herself, with the help of herdsmen. The lately widowed sister of the Taigonos elder figured on Plate XXXII, Fig. 2, has remained single; and, with her two adult daughters, she personally directs a herd of eight hundred reindeer. For this purpose she keeps two herdsmen, of whom one was in the position of a bridegroom doing service for her eldest daughter.

587 LEVIRATE. — The institutions known under the general term of "levirate" embrace marriage-customs which, though similar but not wholly uniform, are found among various tribes. I retain this name also for the Koryak institution of this category, although it is not quite broad enough in its strict sense. The word "levirate" denotes the custom by virtue of which a brother (or other relative) marries the widow of his elder brother (or relative). Among the Koryak an analogous custom extends also to the widower. The younger sister or relative of the defunct wife must become his wife. Thus the Koryak levirate may be summed up as follows: —

1. The widow must be married to the younger brother, younger cousin or nephew (*son of sister or brother*), *of her deceased husband.*

2. The widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece (daughter of sister or brother), of his deceased wife.

I have recorded twelve cases of marriage through levirate. Of these, the widower was married to his deceased wife's sister in one case, to her cousin in two cases, and to her niece in two; the widow married her deceased husband's younger brother in two cases, his younger cousin in four cases, and his nephew in one case.

From the relations of levirate marriage, it becomes clear why two brothers or male cousins, or an uncle and nephew, cannot be married to two sisters, two cousins, or an aunt and her niece. In case of the death of the elder brother, cousin, or uncle, the younger brother cousin, or nephew would be unable to take the widows of the first three for wives, unless one man might be married to two sisters, cousins, or aunt and niece. As stated before, such a polygynous marriage is not permitted by custom.[1]

595 587 The latter custom must be supposed to be of less ancient origin than other marriage taboos, and I think is the foundation for woman's increased modesty. A Koryak who has two or more wives sleeps in one sleeping-tent

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See p. 758.